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greed. Whether this shall remain the true interpretation, will depend upon what the next act in the drama reveals. If these conquered territories are annexed outright to the United States, as now seems to be the purpose of the Administration, which has strayed farther and farther from its original intentions, the judgment of the civilized world, present and future, will declare, and have a right to declare, the war to have been essentially one of self-aggrandizement, mercenariness and conquest. Our professions of humanity will go for nothing, however much there may have been in them.

If the loss to Spain of her colonies were all that would be involved in the ratification of the treaty soon to arrive in Washington there would be little difference of opinion about the matter. It seems no harsh judgment to say that she has by her misgovernment and oppression fairly forfeited all rights of sovereignty in these territories. The inhabitants of them wish and have wished for years to be free from her dominion. They ought, therefore, of right, for both reasons to be free.

But the ratification of the treaty, as it will be brought home continuing the provision for the payment of twenty million dollars to Spain, will mean the annexation of the Philippines, unless the Senate shall provide specifically to the contrary. This we still hope the Senate will be wise and courageous enough to do. Many of the ablest men in the Senate are opposed to annexation on the ground that such a policy will be ruinous, under existing conditions, to the character and real mission of the republic. Opposition to it throughout the country is also strong and steadily growing as men have come to think the problem out seriously. An Anti-Imperialistic League with headquarters at Washington has been formed having in its membership many of the most eminent, experienced men in the country.

Believing as we do that annexation is not necessary in order to the fulfilment of the nation's present duty to the territories wrested from Spain, that it will result, for reasons given in another article, in serious impairment of the national life and character, and lead quickly and inevitably to a dangerous and burdensome enlargement of the army and navy and entanglement in the territorial squabbles and unworthy contentions of the war powers, in a word, to the certain decline of the republic, we must utter this last word of protest before the treaty is acted upon by the Senate. We ask all our readers who are like-minded with us to copy, sign and forward to Mr. Erving Winslow, Washington, D. C., the following protest, which is being circulated for signatures by the Anti-Imperialist League:

To the President and Congress of the United States:

The undersigned

Protests against any extension of the sovereignty

of the United States over the Philippine Islands in any event, and over any other foreign territory without the free consent of the people thereof, believing such action would be dangerous to the Republic, wasteful of its resources, in violation of constitutional principles, and fraught with moral and physical evils to our people.

Editorial Notes.

Is Long also among the imperialists? One feels instinctively impelled to ask this question on reading the Secretary of the Navy's recent report and some of his utterances on the results of the war.

Mr. Long went into the navy department a very conservative man, strongly opposed to war, a great friend of arbitration and opposed to any but the smallest increase of the navy necessary for police purposes. There are now building 55 war vessels of all classes several of which, including three first-class battleships, have been contracted for since he became Secretary. He now recommends the building of three more battleships at a cost of \$3,600,000 each, three cruisers at a cost of \$4,000,000 each, three cruisers at a cost of \$2,150,000 each, and six cruisers at a cost of \$1,141,800 each. Here is, in addition to the many millions now going into the new vessels, an outlay of over \$36,000,000 more recommended to be made upon the navy within the next *three years*. "With the territorial acquisitions of the present year, if the Philippines are also to be annexed to the United States, its outlying territorial possessions will be so great and so extended that this increase of naval force will be necessary," he says.

He also recommends that the number of enlisted men in the navy be raised from 12,500 to 20,000 and that a naval reserve be established. Here, then, in this proposed enlargement of the navy we have one of the most mischievous outcomes of the war. However men throughout the country differ as to other things, they seem unaccountably agreed everywhere that the navy must be increased. The exploits of the navy seem to have entirely blinded the country as to the dangers and enormous burdens to which a policy of naval expansion will surely lead. If the Philippines are not annexed, the mischief is going to be great enough anyway. If they are annexed, Mr. Long's recommendations will fall many times short of what will be deemed necessary within the next ten years. There will be no stopping place short of a navy larger than that of Great Britain on which one hundred twenty-five millions of dollars a year are now spent. If we are to "take a hand in the affairs of the world" in the sense meant by those who are clamoring for such a policy, no peer will be allowed to remain on the sea. Is it possible that the nation will go into such a course of stupendous folly with its eyes open? It can become a great steel-clad, meddlesome,

domineering "world-power," if it is willing to pay the huge cost in money, and in what is indefinitely more valuable than money. The nation will have shut its eyes, deliberately or with a thoughtlessness as deadly as deliberateness, if it allows its chosen representatives and leaders to launch it on such a wild and shoreless sea. Let the people arouse themselves to what is going on at Washington before it is too late.

The following persons, all active workers in the cause of peace, have recently become members of the American Peace Society:

Rev. W. E. Heywood, Dorchester, Mass.; Miss M. E. Daniell, Boston, Mass.; Miss Jean Louise de Forest, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mrs. Elvira C. Peabody, Brooklyn, N. Y.; W. T. Sabine, New York City, N. Y.; Mr. M. M. Forney, New York City, N. Y.; William Lloyd Garrison, Brookline, Mass.; Florence H. Crowell, West Yarmouth, Mass.; J. F. Crowell, West Yarmouth, Mass.; Louisa Jay Bruen, White Plains, N. Y.; Isaac Brooks, Baltimore, Md.; E. P. Platt, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Max Landsberg, Rochester, N. Y.; Catherine E. Farwell, Boston, Mass.; Miss L. M. Sweet, Arlington, Mass.; Alexander C. Wood, Cinnaminson, N. J.; Ellen K. Buffum, Providence, R. I.; Ernest Howard Crosby, Rhinebeck, N. Y.; M. M. Bailey, Portland, Me.; Francis J. Garrison, Roxbury, Mass.; William L. Pearson, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Samuel R. Shipley, Philadelphia, Pa.; John M. Shrigley, Williamson School, Pa.; Dr. M. L. Holbrook, New York City; Albert Geiger, Boston.

The Baroness von Suttner, president of the Austrian Peace Society, had an interview of an hour with Count Muravieff during the Russian Minister's visit to Vienna. The Count expressed his strong hope that the initiative of the Czar might draw to its support the whole world. It might take time and there are many difficulties to be overcome. The simple arrest of the growth of armaments would be a great attainment, and this he thought might be all that the Conference would immediately result in. The Count expressed his sincere sympathy with the work of the peace associations, with which he has for some time been acquainted. The more the idea of peace is promulgated among the people the more easy he says it will be for the governments to realize it. The support of the press he said would be very valuable to the cause of peace; unfortunately it is often opposed to it. The Russian Minister declared his pleasure at the favorable reception accorded the Czar's rescript. When the Baroness told him that she was happy to grasp the hand which had written the famous document, he replied: "I had nothing to do with it; my august master is the sole author of it."

We give on another page an editorial from the *Anglo-Russian*, published in London, which states frankly the point of view from which the Czar's peace manifesto is regarded by those Russians, at home and in exile, who are struggling to bring about Russian civil liberty. We do not wonder at the unfavorable view which they take of the matter. There are many reasons which justify them in doing so. The same view has suggested itself to many who are not Russians. The *Anglo-Russian* thinks that the Czar's manifesto has had the effect, for the time being, to "shut the eyes and ears of the world to the scenes of misery and starvation which at the present moment afflict whole provinces in Russia. It has paralyzed the hands of the workers for internal reforms and liberty." We do not think this is true, at least in America. On the contrary, the manifesto has aroused many of the friends of Russian freedom to make new efforts in that direction. They feel the essential incompatibility between the Czar's proposal for the reduction of armaments and the severe repression of liberty practiced in the Russian empire. We shall be greatly mistaken if the Czar's peace manifesto does not prove a powerful lever for the lifting of freedom, civil and religious, in Russia to a position hitherto sought in vain. The *Anglo-Russian* itself grants that "the Peace Conference may do much good on broader international lines," and that "any benefit to the world at large must, in the long run, react beneficially on the welfare of Russia also."

Another view of the Czar's appeal is that represented by an article in the *Contemporary Review*, written anonymously by a soldier. This writer believes in the sincerity of the Czar's personal wish for peace, but he thinks the benevolent feelings of a Czar and the practical action of Russia have small relation to one another. The political situation he declares to be such as to be far more powerful than the personal sentiments of the Emperor, autocrat though he be. The statesmen who guide Russian affairs have therefore concealed under the Czar's wishes their own aggressive purposes. They are determined upon Russian expansion. They mean ultimately to bring pressure to bear upon Afghanistan, upon India and still further upon China. They are not ready for this now. They must have ten years of peace for preparation. An early war would spoil all their plans. They must build railroads, southward to the Persian gulf, eastward to the coast. They also propose to extend Russia to the north of Norway and get control of the great Varanger fiord which is nearly all the year free from ice. Again, in the crisis which this writer sees approaching in Austria the Czechs and other non-German nationalities are likely to appeal to Russia.

It is therefore a great stroke of policy on the part of these astute statesmen to take advantage of the Czar's

desire for peace, in order that they may gain time for the development of their military resources and power. This "soldier" does not tell us how the purposes of these wily statesmen will be promoted by the Czar's Conference, provided it should meet this winter and the work of reduction of armaments should actually be begun. Nor does he give any information as to how the astute plans will be forwarded if the Conference should flatly fail. A few months of playing with the Czar's sincerity could certainly be of little use to them. We shall at least hope that these statesmen are not so bad as this "soldier" represents them to be.

A recent issue of the *Boston Herald* makes the following statement as to the Venezuela Arbitration :

"The arbitration proceedings between Great Britain and Venezuela are said to be the most elaborate in their character of any question hitherto submitted to international arbitration. These proceedings are going on under the direction of Prof. Martens of the Russian foreign office. Last March each of the contesting governments sent the historical documents and maps in support of its claims to the foreign office at St. Petersburg. The English preliminary case consisted of eight large volumes and an enormous atlas of the rarest maps of Venezuela and South America. The Venezuelan case was made up in four volumes and an atlas. The two contestants had each the opportunity of studying the preliminary historical presentation of its opponents, and last August the answers to these were made by each of the two governments handing to Prof. Martens a counter case, Venezuela sending in three new volumes and another atlas, and Great Britain presenting two new volumes and also a second atlas. Up to the present time the members of the court have received more than 2200 documents in the English, Spanish and Dutch languages, these covering a period of four centuries. Next month the two governments must furnish the chief arbitrator and members of the court with their final conclusions, or rebutting printed arguments, which will close the preliminary procedure. Next spring the international court, under the presidency of Prof. Martens, is to meet in Paris to hear the verbal arguments of those representing the two contesting governments, and after this will give its decision, which will be both final and obligatory. This may seem like a tremendously slow and expensive means of securing justice but no matter how expensive it may be, it is incomparably cheaper than war, and, so far as the ends of abstract justice are concerned, is infinitely more effective."

The third Sunday in December is to be Peace Sunday again this year. The peace societies throughout the world are asking that it be observed everywhere in the churches, as far as possible. Many ministers already observe the day regularly, as it comes round each year. Others do not. The same is true of Sunday schools. No subject can be more appropriate for a special exercise, either in the church or the Bible school, than that of peace. It lies at the very heart of the gospel. The

troublesome times through which we are passing make it doubly important that the voice of peace should be heard, loud and clear, and often, from every pulpit in the land. Let our fellow-workers in all parts of the land lay the matter before their ministers and try to secure their co-operation, for at least one of the services of the day. Our friends will do us a great favor by sending us accounts of any peace services which may be held in their communities.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne has issued its seventh annual report, covering the period from August 1st, 1897, to July 1st, 1898. The Commission of the Bureau, chosen at Hamburg in August, 1897, was composed of nineteen members representing eleven countries. Mr. Elie Ducommun, of Berne, has continued his most efficient services as Secretary of the Bureau. The "*Correspondence Bi-Mensuelle*" has been regularly published by the Bureau, and sent out to the peace societies and the friends of peace in all countries. The report notices the work of the Bureau in executing the resolutions of the Hamburg Peace Congress, in sending out an appeal to the nations in reference to the Spanish-American war, in distributing various documents to the peace societies, in preparing for the "peace manifestation" of the societies on the 22d of February, and in arranging for the peace congress which was to have been held in October of this year, but which it was found necessary to give up. The Bureau has received from societies, individuals and states during the year 9,638 francs, and disbursed 8,136 francs. The budget of expenses for the year 1893-99 is placed at 8,170 francs. The governments of Switzerland, Norway and Denmark have all contributed to the funds of the Bureau the past year. The Bureau still has on hand 270 copies of the Report of the Hamburg Peace Congress. The Secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, will be very glad to receive contributions for the work of the Bureau the current year.

The system of spies, though not theoretically inseparable from war, is practically so. For this deceptive business there is not only no justification in morals; it is utterly condemned by the most elemental principles of morality. The account given in the November *Cosmopolitan* of the gala way in which the only United States spy in Spain during the recent war palmed himself off as a German physician and thus by leading a lying life for months got into intimate association with leading Spanish officials fills one with a sense of the deepest shame not only because of the depths of falseness to which such an individual descends, not only because of the moral darkness of a government which, seemingly without compunction, employs such an agency, but also because of the low general moral state of society which permits such

doing and even glorifies it as something of a high intellectual order, counted worthy of the first place in a magazine article. We do not wonder that this spy sometimes felt his "conscience smite him hip and thigh." The relation in which he put himself is one totally unworthy of any human being standing face to face with others of his kind. The spying business is possibly not the lowest part of the business of war, but it is perilously near the bottom. There is no lower degradation of human nature than the loss, voluntarily incurred, of the spirit of truthfulness—and spying drives straight toward this loss. A man of conscience can never—never—get the blot of it off his soul. No end can, therefore, ever justify it—either private or public.

In an article on "The Battle of Omdurman and the Mussulman World," by Rofiuddin Ahmad, in the *Nineteenth Century*, which discusses in a very able way the relations of England to the Pan-Islamic Revival, occurs the following paragraph in regard to a proposed board of arbitration between all Islamic states:

"I have already referred to the universal regret felt (among Mussulmans) for the enormous loss of life at Omdurman. The Mahdi was not a recognized ruler, he was a rebel, and the Egyptian Government could not avoid a war with him. But suppose, in future, differences of opinion arise between recognized Muslim states. Can Islam afford to see a war between them? Certainly not. To avoid such a war there is a proposal to memorialize the Sultan of Turkey to issue an encyclical inviting all independent Muslim states to a conference at Mecca with a view of establishing a Muslim international arbitration committee, which would consist of the ablest jurists that the Islamic world possesses, and who would be altogether independent of the governments of Islamic countries. Such a proposal suggested itself to many Islamic minds when the Czar's encyclical appeared, but it has gained ground since the battle at Omdurman, and is likely to receive a practical shape in reasonable time. The Christian governments cannot have any objection to that proposal, considering that the Emperor of Russia himself puts forward a similar proposal on a very high and even impracticable basis and also because it does not affect them in the least. A war between two Muslim states has not taken place for some time; but it is not unlikely that foreign intrigues may so complicate affairs between two Muslim countries that a settlement by diplomacy may become impossible, and an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword indispensable. In order to avoid such calamities, which are by no means imaginary, some steps must at once be adopted. No one can take the initiative in this matter more appropriately than the Protector of the Holy Places and the greatest ruler in Islam. No better place can be suggested for the conference than the city which gave birth to Mohammed and his religion. And surely no better time can be mentioned than the present, when peace conferences are in the air in the Christian world. Nothing is more palatable to the Sultan Abd el Hamid than attempts tending towards the reunion and revival of Islam. It is expected, there-

fore, that his Majesty will lose no time in ascertaining the views of Mussulman states regarding the proposal."

In the death of Sir George Grey England has lost one of her best colonial governors—"the maker of New Zealand." "The idea that subject territories are to be exploited for the benefit of the ruling race was," says *War or Brotherhood*, "utterly foreign to the policy of Sir George Grey." He is described as having ruled according to the principle that "a ruler exists for the benefit of the ruled." His sympathies went out to men of every color, he was free from race prejudice, he defended the natives against the encroachments of Englishmen, he even opposed successfully the Colonial Office in attempts at injustice. His patient efforts to understand and help the natives won him their unbounded love and attachment. Nearly every American knows the name of General Kitchener; we doubt if one in fifty thousand ever heard the name of Sir George Grey. He was too good and great a man to be most highly honored either at home or abroad. But his character and work were the kind out of which civilization is builded.

The thirty-third anniversary of the Pennsylvania Peace Society was observed in Philadelphia on November 24th. There were meetings afternoon and evening. We have no particulars in time for this number. Addresses were announced to be given by Hon. John W. Hoyt, Professor Edward P. Magill, President John W. Shrigley, Miss Sarah J. Farmer, Dr. Agnes Kemp, Professor Daniel Batchellor, Alfred H. Love, Howard M. Jenkins and others. The President of the Society is Judge William N. Ashman of the Orphans' Court. The Society, in connection with the Universal Peace Union, of which it is a branch, has been very active in its peace propaganda during the past year.

A new experiment in Christian communism is being made, in Georgia. "The Christian Commonwealth," organized in January 1897, near Columbus, consists of about seventy persons who are trying to carry out in a communistic way in their daily lives the teachings of Christ as to brotherhood. The colony possesses several hundred acres of land which are rapidly being brought under cultivation. Every person who joins the "Commonwealth" gives to it all that he possesses. No person holds any private property except personal effects. The pledge of membership says: I accept as the law of my life Christ's law that I shall love my neighbor as myself. I will use, hold, or dispose of all my property, my labor and my income according to the dictates of love for the happiness of all who need. I will not withhold for any selfish ends aught that I have from the fullest service that love inspires." Every member does his share in the

necessary work, and receives from the community all that is necessary for his daily life. The community has its own post-office, named Commonwealth. It has an orchard, nursery-garden, sawmill, blacksmith-shop and dairy. It also has a printing-press and issues monthly a paper entitled "The Social Gospel," edited by George Howard Gibson and Rev. Ralph Albertson. The system is one of perfect communism. All land and capital are owned by the community as a whole, and there is perfect equality within the community.

The United States of Central America, to which allusion has been heretofore made in these columns, is at last a reality. The new republic, which is formed by a union of Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador, went into operation on the first day of November. Negotiations for the union had been going on for two years and more, and last August the Constitution was adopted. The Constitution of the new republic is much like that of our country. The president holds office for four years. The senate, the house of representatives and the judiciary are constituted nearly as ours. The capital of the republic is to be situated in a federal district to be purchased by grants from the three states. The elections are to be held this December, and until the president is inaugurated in March next the government will be administered by a council of three. Neither of the presidents of the three republics is eligible at the first election. It is thought that Guatemala and Costa Rica will ultimately enter into the new union. It is of historic interest to record that this federation of independent states into a larger state has come about without war and conquest, and it is to be hoped that the union will result in the maintenance of permanent peace in Central America—if the whole thing does not collapse.

The Rev. D. L. Leonard, in his "History of Oberlin College," recently published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston, says:

"Societies for the promotion of peace and of moral reform were numerous in the thirties and forties, and, as we scarcely need to be told, Oberlin did what she could to push forward these important reforms. Being loyal subjects of the Prince of Peace, war was abhorred except where unrighteousness, which was worse than war, was the alternative. But probably not many of the colonists, not even Elihu Burritt the great peace orator and organizer, shared the unswerving faith in the irresistible potency of weapons purely spiritual possessed by one of the Oberlin deacons, who when the Rebellion burst forth would not have a soldier sent to the front, but instead would enlist whole legions of praying men and women, and transporting them down to Mason and Dixon's Line would kneel and make mighty supplication until the entire rebel host should lay down their arms!"

The latest information in regard to the Conference on reduction of armaments proposed by the Czar of Russia is that all the nations represented at the Czar's court have notified him that they will send delegates. It is now thought certain that the seat of the Conference will be St. Petersburg. Each of the governments represented, will send three delegates. This will make the gathering the most numerous, in point of nations represented which has ever met, and it will certainly be composed of the most eminent and progressive statesmen of the age. The date of the Conference has not yet been definitely announced. Count Muravieff has been making a tour of some of the capitals of Europe. As soon as he returns to St. Petersburg the remaining preparations for the Conference will be completed and the date, which is expected to be early in 1899, will be announced.

Brevities.

The Woman's International Disarmament League, with headquarters at Paris now has over two hundred thousand adherents.

... The International Arbitration and Peace Association has started at 40 Outer Temple, Strand, London, an international reference library consisting of books treating of arbitration and peace.

... "Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army."—*Edward Everett*.

... The Federation of German Women, composed of ninety societies with a membership of sixty thousand, is making a great demonstration in favor of the Czar's manifesto.

... In an article entitled "Future Peace and its Representatives," just published in the *Revue du Midi* of Odessa, Mr. Lussman says that the peace propaganda is making steady progress in Russia.

... The Autumnal meeting of the London Peace Society was held at Exeter on the 18th of October.

... Dr. George Dana Boardman of Philadelphia has just published a revised and enlarged edition of his admirable brochure on the "Disarmament of Nations, or, Mankind one Body."

... In connection with the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Count Sclopis, president of the Geneva Arbitration Court, Mr. Frederic Passy of Paris presented to the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences an important paper containing some unpublished letters of the Count, treating of the Alabama arbitration and of the general subject of international law.

... "Restrain thyself, woman, and utter no shout; it is not right to rejoice over slaughtered men."—*From the Odyssey*.

... The London Peace Society has sent out fifty thousand circular letters to the ministers of the United Kingdom asking for the observance of Peace Sunday.